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PREFACE

The Yuman tribes on the Gila River were originally the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom alone. Prior to 1800, the Maricopa occupied the river above Gila Bend; the Kaveltcadom, a hitherto-unrecorded Halchidhoma speaking group, lay from the Bend downstream halfway to the Colorado. These are the Cocomaricopa and Opa of early Spanish records. About the opening of the nineteenth century the Maricopa shifted a few miles eastward to the middle Gila, where they established themselves in close proximity to the Pima. Here they were joined between 1825 and 1830 by the Halchidhoma fleeing from the Colorado. A decade later (1838–39) the remnant of Kohuana and Halyikwamai followed the Halchidhoma from the Colorado, and about the same time the Kaveltcadom were absorbed from the lower Gila. Since all these movements took place under wholly aboriginal conditions, it seems legitimate to refer to them now in the aggregate as tribes of the Gila River.

It must be understood that the descriptions of the present account apply to the Maricopa unless specifically ascribed to the other tribes. The mixed community has been Maricopa in speech and essentially Maricopa in custom since its formation a century ago. My impression is that in material culture the Maricopa, Kaveltcadom, and Halchidhoma were essentially alike in the days before their commingling, so that in this respect the description of the Maricopa must also apply to the others. It proved possible to get specific information on most of Halchidhoma non-material culture, so that in the second instance, this paper embodies a description of that people. Notes on the Kaveltcadom, Kohuana and Halyikwamai are incidental.

Maricopa and Halchidhoma spoke barely separable dialects. Yuma was intelligible to them; Mohave and Walapai-Havasupai-Yavapai were closely related, but unintelligible. The other lower Colorado Yuman tribes, Cocopa, Kohuana, and Haly-

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the Cocopa nearer the Gulf of California, and upstream, south of the Colorado gorge, the Mohave. Various smaller tribes (Halchidhoma, Kohuana, Halyikwamai, Chemehuevi, Kamia, and perhaps others) had shifting loci in the historic period, now between Yuma and Cocopa, again between Yuma and Mohave.

The current notion is that in early Spanish days the people we now call Maricopa were living on the lower Gila, from Gila Bend downstream, and that they left there before 1850 to join the Pima on the middle Gila. This is the region occupied, according to my information, by the Kaveltcadom. It is generally assumed that the Spanish writers made no mention of Maricopa settlements above Gila Bend. They described the inhabitants of the district downstream from Gila Bend as Cocomaricopa and Opa, both Yuman in speech; sometimes distinguishing between them, sometimes asserting their identity. With the exception of Garcés they ignored the settlements on the great sweep of the river north and east of Gila Bend.

I believe it can be shown that there was at most but a slight shift of Maricopa from perhaps as far as Gila Bend to the middle Gila, but more probably from above the Bend and the vicinity of the Salt-Gila junction to the home they ascribe to themselves a few miles to the east. Whether the Cocomaricopa and Opa of the Spanish writers can be distinguished may never be known. If the Cocomaricopa are to be identified with the present-day Maricopa, of which I am none too sure, the Opa must be by distinction the Kaveltcadom. The best explanation would seem to be that the Spaniards were aware of a tribal distinction, now represented in native parlance by the terms Maricopa and Kaveltcadom, but confusedly applied it in only part of the territory, namely the district from Gila Bend downstream.

The sections which follow give native testimony and documentary evidence on these points in some detail.

The slight shift suggested here is a far cry from the current idea of a Maricopa migration from far down the Gila. Perhaps one reason for this erroneous view is that the traditions of the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai of their own migrations from the Colorado have been mistaken for those of the Maricopa.

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Maricopa. The reason is intelligible, since these Yuman remnants have been thoroughly incorporated in the Maricopa community for the better part of a century. The Halchidhoma fled the Colorado about 1825–30, going to Sonora, and shortly after joining the Maricopa near the Pima. Ten years later the linked Kohuana and Halyikwamai followed them eastward. The Kaveltcadom joined the Maricopa community at about the same time.

Population estimates are available from the late eighteenth and middle nineteenth centuries. In a tabular statement in 1776, Garcés set the number of Halchidhoma and Cocomaricopa each at 2500. These Cocomaricopa include the Opa of those days, together being the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom of the present paper. Previously (May 1774) he had written of the Cocomaricopa-Opa that "it appears to me that they number no less than 2500 souls between Agua Caliente and the villages of La Pasión de Tucavi [near Hassayampa Creek]," the whole span of their territory. He repeated this (November 1775), "It appears to me that this nation will number some 30 hundred souls," evidently again including those both above and below Gila Bend. This total for the combined Maricopa-Kaveltcadom is inferentially confirmed by Anza (November 1775), who gives a careful estimate of those below Gila Bend: "For, most of this tribe having come before me with the intention of not living hidden now, because of the peace which they enjoy, as well as to receive the presents . . . . for which purpose I have convoked them, there have assembled on the way from San Simón y Judas de Opasoitac [Gila Bend] to here [San Bernardino, above the Mohawk Mountains] scarcely fifteen hundred persons." It is palpable that he omits the population north of the Bend, where Garcés noted that the settlements were very populous. In his complete diary Anza offers direct confirmation: "The Opa or Cocomaricopa tribe . . . . apparently does not reach three thousand persons." The numbers seen at various villages are cited by these gentry, but they are not significant because there is no way of knowing how many had flocked to see the strangers. However, Anza (December 8, 1775) abruptly revised his estimates downward, reporting

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The Cocopa (kwapa') were three days' journey up from the mouth of the Colorado and two days below the Yuma. The Akwa'ala (kwâa'xl) were principally west of the Cocopa, but also lived among them. People of the mountains west of the Imperial Valley were kumâθa', that is Kamia or Southern (Eastern) Diegueño or both.[20] Other Californian tribes were unknown.

THE EASTWARD MOVEMENT

The Yuman scene was not static. Though the foregoing presents the picture in the year 1800, it was different both before and after that date. The river tribes were caught up in a great swirling movement, wherein the lesser peoples, shifting their loci along the river under the hammering of Yuma and Mohave, were finally pinched off and fled to the east. The information obtained from the Halchidhoma and Maricopa informants accords fully with that marshaled by Kroeber from Spanish sources and Mohave information,[21] and amplifies its detail.

Constant and devastating warfare had marked lower Colorado life from ancient times. Centuries of conflict may well have preceded Alarcon's comment in 1540 of "warre and that very great, and upon exceedingly small occasions; for when they had no cause to make warre, they assembled together and some of them said let us go to make warre in such a place and then all of them set forward with their weapons." From that time forward, the Spanish writers and the Americans of the nineteenth century record nearly incessant warfare.

There can be little doubt that the Maricopa once resided on the lower Colorado. This in face of the fact that they have no tradition of ever having lived elsewhere than on the middle Gila. Yet it seems quite credible that they set the habit of eastward movement across the desert in which they were followed successively by the Kaveltcadom band of Halchidhoma, the Halchid-

[20] This is the familiar confusion which Gifford has discussed (*Kamia*, pp. 1–9). A Mohave tradition places the Alakwisa, long extinct, between Cocopa and Kamia. Kroeber suggests this a possible synonym for Halyikwamai. My informants failed to recognize the name.

[21] Kroeber, *Yuman Tribes; Handbook*, pp. 796 f.

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174 homa proper, Kohuana and Halyikwamai. Where they may have lived on the Colorado we can only conjecture, but as their language is still identical with Halchidhoma after centuries of separation (as early as Alarcon they were not numbered among the river tribes), we may assume it was somewhere near the Halchidhoma country north of the Cocopa. Their culture as well was that of the lower Colorado, but this is not thoroughly convincing evidence, for they may have acquired it in their eastern home. The date of the separation is also uncertain: it was at least before the sixteenth century, and the veriest guess would place it not many centuries earlier.[22]

101 174 Similarly, the Kaveltcadom had left the Colorado to occupy the Gila Bend district prior to the historic period. If they were indeed the Opa-Cocomaricopa of the eighteenth century, the movement occurred at least two centuries ago. Halchidhoma [173] and Maricopa informants describe them as Halchidhoma, a branch that left the main stream so long ago that tradition no longer preserves precise mention of it. They are looked on as one with the Halchidhoma in speech and blood, but distinct in culture and habitat. Today their descendants are reckoned wholly Halchidhoma: for instance, it was only at the end of my first extended stay that I learned from the informant Last Star that other Halchidhoma referred to his family as Kaveltcadom.

The earliest location of the Halchidhoma known to living Halchidhoma and Maricopa was the Colorado below Parker, from which the tribe fled just a century ago. This was in the day of parents and grandparents of these aged informants. The country as a whole was known as xaltcâ·ðŏm nᵧĭma'ṭ, "the Halchidhoma's land"; the only specific locality remembered was matkwaxwĕ'lc, at or near Parker. They lived sometimes on one or the other side of the Colorado, planting in the bottom land on levels annually inundated by the river. They made no ditches and practiced no artificial irrigation in any form (like others on

[114] [22] There is no warrant whatever for Kroeber's dogmatic statement: "It seems unlikely that they left the Colorado more than about a hundred years earlier" than Kino's advent just before 1700 (*Seri*, p. 50). Yet neither Oñate (1605) nor Alarcon (1540) mention them on the Colorado, as Kroeber elsewhere recognizes.

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the river). "The Halchidhoma were more numerous than any other tribe on the Colorado;" a doubtful statement. But they had a number of villages along the river. "A single village of houses close together might cover this farm [forty acres]. If one visited from village to village, it would take three days." At any rate their number was considerable; the 2,500 numbered by Garcés in 1776 may be an overestimate, but not an impossible one.

The location of the Halchidhoma in the summer of 1776 was recorded by Garcés.[23] Fourteen leagues south of a stream identifiable as Williams River he arrived at the northernmost group of their rancherías on the left bank, styling them San Antonio. Two leagues below were the Rancherías de Santa Coleta, "much abounding in crops." Two and a half leagues more brought him to the Laguna de la Trinidad, where he was "detained to talk with the old men," presumably at a settlement at this place. Crossing to the right bank, after half a league he found the Rancherías de la Asumpcion. Two and a half leagues below on the same side were several rancherías (Lagrimas de San Pedro). In the next five and a half leagues he passed "two rancherías and some ranchos" and crossing again to the Arizona side, found another ranchería. A final step of a league and a half brought him to the most southerly of the Halchidhoma settlements. This was, by his reckoning, sixteen and a half leagues (about forty-five miles) above the mouth of the Gila. None of the points in Halchidhoma territory is easily identified, but the span of their holdings is clear. It stretched on both sides of the Colorado for some forty miles (fourteen and a half leagues) from a point about that distance below Williams River to forty-five miles above the Gila. Making due allowance for both his circuitous route and the winding of the Colorado, we can place this middle third roughly from somewhat below Parker to above the Trigo Mountains. This is the region cited by my informants for the half century following.

His earlier route of May 1774 is even more difficult to trace, but leaves clearly the impression that he found the Halchidhoma in the same district. Some of the place names are duplicated in the two accounts. Leaving Agua Caliente, he reached the Colorado at a point which Bolton plausibly suggests was in the vicinity of Ehrenburg. Two leagues southwest was the home of the chief, "where assembled many Jalchedunes who lived down the river." He found these Indians through a district of ten leagues north of this point, all on the Arizona side.[24]

Attacked by both Yuma and Mohave, the Halchidhoma were constantly forced to shift their position. There is some recollection of having lived at first nearer the Yuma.

When the Yuma killed some of our men, we moved a little farther up the river each time and settled again. When we moved closer to the Mohave, they came

[23] Coues, II, 423–30.

[24] Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 376–87.

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● 174 down and fought. Then, when some were killed, the Halchidhoma moved downstream a little. If only one tribe had fought us, we might still be on the river.

There is no recollection of any earlier location. Yet Oñate in 1605 found them the first tribe on the river below the mouth of the Gila. Kino, a century later, found them above the Gila. Garcés (1776) found them occupying some forty miles of the Colorado from somewhat below Parker to above the Trigo Mountains. This is the locale of their earliest recollections, with which Mohave memories agree. Presumably they had shifted northward of the Yuma to escape them, only to subject themselves to double peril from Mohave above as well as Yuma below.

The uneven conflict became too much for the dwindling Halchidhoma, despite the accession of Kohuana and Halyikwamai. A peace arranged by Garcés proved only temporary. The Mohave tell that they drove the joint tribes south from Parker, the Halchidhoma settling "at Aha-kw-atho'ilya, a long salty 'lake' or slough, that stretched for a day's walk west of the river at the foot of the mountains. The Kohuana removed less far, to Avinya-kutapaiva and Hapuvesa, but remained only a year, and then settled farther south, although still north of the Halchidhoma."[25] The Mohave further relate that again attacking the Halchidhoma, the latter withdrew, fleeing east across the Colorado to Ava-chuhaya, and thence east across the desert to the Maricopa. Of these details, my informants have no recollection.

Their own accounts, which follow, fix the flight from the Parker district in 1825–30. They stopped for two days with their relatives, the Kaveltcadom, at Gila Bend, before continuing the flight. They reached their objective in northern Sonora, having traversed some four hundred miles of desert, where they took refuge with an unidentified friendly tribe, with whom they were living in 1833. Gradually they began to drift back to the Gila to join the Maricopa; the remnant urged to this action by an epidemic. By 1838, when the first Kohuana-Halyikwamai arrived

[25] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 800. My own Mohave information is that the place from which the Mohave drove the Halchidhoma was located about two miles northeast of Blythe, near the river.

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among the Maricopa, all the Halchidhoma that remained had reassembled on the Gila. [174]

The Yuma, when intending to fight, would send word to the Mohave, and the two tribes would surround our villages. So a great many of our people were killed. They became so few that only a few villages remained on the river. Finally they decided to leave for safety, to remain away for a while, but not permanently. One night they gathered to discuss it. Some time before three families had left together and had disappeared. Their supposed fate decided the issue. But that very night, a man of the lost families returned. He told them that they had gone to Mexico, where they had been treated with great respect.[26] Then the whole tribe determined to follow them.

Next day they dug holes under their houses; stored their beans, corn, black-eyed peas, and everything they had in pots; and buried them deep in the ground. Long after, the Mohave told how they had discovered this hoard.

No one knows just when or where they started. The returned wanderer guided them, the whole tribe. Camping all the way in the desert, it must have taken a long time. They reached the Gila Bend Mountains (vixalgwa'a'mpâs, "lying on its breast mountain") where they stayed at kwa'akáma't with the Halchidhoma [Kaveltcadom] who lived there. They remained two days while women of the local group prepared provisions. On the third day, those from the Colorado went on; the local people remaining. It took some time to reach Mexico. When they reached there, they were received and fed. Who were the hosts is not known, but they were Indians and sometime referred to as Yaqui. The Halchidhoma lived in a village apart. The men worked for their hosts and the women sold pottery to the Mexicans. [The name of the Mexican settlement is given as tamalč'n or lamalč'n, an unidentified place in northern Sonora, which seems to have lain much south and east of Nogales.[27]] They had made up their minds to return to the Colorado if they were unfavorably received. But they were well cared for, and stayed there for some years. The great meteoric shower [November 13, 1833] occurred while they were there.

Maricopa men from the Gila visited them there: Halchidhoma visited the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom. Some Halchidhoma families left for the Sacate district on the Gila to be near the Maricopa, but many stayed in Mexico. Finally there was general sickness there; nearly the whole tribe died. The few families who escaped it, came away to settle with these others among the Maricopa. Kutox's father came at this time. This was before the arrival of the first group of Kohuana and Halyikwamai [in 1838].

The dates given above were fixed inferentially on the basis of the following information. Kutox, the Halchidhoma from whom the body of the foregoing account was received, was eighty-three in 1929–30, born at Maricopa Wells in [115]

[26] Some acquaintance with Mexican localities is evidenced by Velasco (*Sonora*, p. 147) who states that in 1801 Cavorca (Caborca) was visited by "an Indian of the tribe called Tadchidume, to the north of the Colorado." (I am indebted to Dr. Ralph Beals for this reference.)

[27] Last Star fixed its location by repute as three days' foot journey southeast from Tucson. Near by was a mission. The name has no meaning in Maricopa and does not sound like a Maricopa word to this informant.

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1847. He was born, according to his account, fourteen years after the meteoric shower. (Thanks to the existence of calendar records,[28] many of the older individuals know precisely when they were born.) His father was born on the Colorado, and was a young man, perhaps thirty years old, when they fled from the river. His father died when Kutox was about twenty, the elder being then about seventy. Hence the father was born about 1797; the flight took place about 1827. The several informants volunteered that the Halchidhoma were in Mexico "when the stars fell" (1833). Last Star thinks it was about four or five years after this event that the first group of Kohuana joined them. Kutox fixed it six years after the stars fell (1839) and at another time two years before he was born (i.e., 1845). The calendar stick records their advent in 1838. All the dates are harmonious and agree substantially with Kroeber's inference that the Halchidhoma and Kohuana abandoned the Colorado between 1820 and 1840, the Kohuana following the former by ten years. This accords with his doubt that the Kohuana left "at least as early as 1820."[29]

The movements of the Kohuana and Halyikwamai somewhat later are known with greater precision. According to my informants, they were neighbors of the Yuma, first south and later north of the Yuma villages. It was from the latter point that they fled the river following the Halchidhoma by a decade. Nothing was said of their sojourn with the Halchidhoma in the Parker district or with the Mohave in Mohave Valley, but Kroeber's Mohave information on this point is explicit and undoubtedly correct. Maricopa information is that in 1838 half the Kohuana, with the Halyikwamai of identical speech already incorporated, fled to the Maricopa, followed the next year by the remainder of the linked tribes.

The Halyikwamai were first known to Alarcon in 1540. They occupied the east bank of the Colorado next to the Cocopa in 1605, according to Oñate, and the west bank above the Cocopa and below the Kohuana, according to Garcés in 1776. The Mohave knew them as non-agricultural hill-dwellers, west of the river, north of the Akwa'ala and near the Yuma. Kroeber interprets this to mean that they were once a river people, who dispossessed, abandoned agriculture. Some may still remain among the Akwa'ala or maintain a separate existence north of them.

The Kohuana were found by Alarcon and Oñate; the latter recording their position above the Halyikwamai. Garcés noted their presence on the east side of the Colorado, above the Hal-

[28] See p. 138.

[29] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 801.

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yikwamai, and makes them the next tribe below the Kamia and Yuma. Mohave information places them with the Halchidhoma at Parker, presumably subsequent to 1776. From this position, the Mohave drove them southward with the Halchidhoma, but not so far. They remained for a year, then moved still farther south but not quite to the Halchidhoma. In the conflict that followed, in which the Halchidhoma fled the river, the Mohave guarded the Kohuana against participation and subsequently removed them under compulsion northward to Mohave Valley. They lived there for five years, then went south to live with the Yuma. Some remained among the Mohave. After a five-year sojourn with the Yuma, they fled the river to join the Maricopa. So much for the Mohave view:[30] the accounts which follow mention only their association with the Yuma.

The Kohuana and Halyikwamai were distinct tribes of identical speech, who originally lived below the Yuma. The Kohuana, like the Halchidhoma, were constantly moving. They sometimes lived with the Cocopa, the Yuma, and Halchidhoma, helping each in turn in warfare.

The Kohuana had been living north of the Cocopa, when the Yuma invited them to live close to their village so that they could help each other in war. The Yuma had discovered that the Kohuana were friendly with the Halchidhoma. When the Yuma arrived one morning, the Kohuana thought they were being attacked. But the former told them not to run away, that they had only come to talk with them. The meeting was held in the Kohuana village. The Yuma invited them to come live with them. They took the Kohuana that very day, establishing them north of the Yuma village. The Kohuana were kept a good deal as prisoners, not as true friends. Sometimes two or three of them caught away from home would be killed by the Yuma. They decided to leave the river and join the Maricopa. They started from Yuma at night. [From another account: When the Maricopa went to fight the Yuma many years before Kutox was born, some of the Kohuana decided to return with them.] This was the first group of Kohuana to come. They captured and brought with them some Yuma children. They were more than two hundred [in another account, a hundred families], leaving as many behind. The Yuma tried to get their chief to make war on this remnant. This chief's daughter was among the captives. He [undoubtedly fearing reprisal on the captives] said, "Well, they are not going to kill my daughter. They took her over there. There she will have some cotton blankets to cover her." [The Yuma wove few or none.] A year later [1839] the remainder of the Kohuana, fewer in number, also joined the Maricopa and Halchidhoma. The Halikwamai came with the Kohuana; by that time they were one people.[31]

[30] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 799.

[31] Bartlett in 1852 noted the presence of ten surviving Cawinas among the Pima-Maricopa (*Personal Narrative*, II, 251). Today there remains only a sol-

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By 1840 the Yuman scene had changed materially from that of the century preceding. The lower Colorado was in the hands of the Mohave upstream, the Yuma at the mouth of the Gila, and the Cocopa nearer the Gulf. But the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai, tired of being battered about and unable to secure freedom from attack on the river, had gone to join the Maricopa and their Pima allies. Some remnants of the Halyikwamai and Kohuana perhaps remained: the former in the mountains southwest of the Yuma, the latter resident among the Mohave.

MARICOPA AND KAVELTCADOM SETTLEMENTS

The Maricopa have lived on the Gila above its junction with the Salt since at least 1800. Their settlements were on both sides of the river from Sacate and Pima Butte to Gila Crossing as the western limit. On mesquite gathering and fishing expeditions, they were accustomed to camp along the slough (Santa Cruz River) at the northeastern foot of the Sierra Estrella, in the Gila-Salt confluence, and on the Salt as far upstream as Phoenix, but they had no settlements there. No one lived permanently on the Salt River below the point where it emerged from the mountains. In fact, the whole of the open plain north of the Gila to the mountains was unoccupied as too exposed to Yavapai and Apache attacks.

The principal settlements were on both sides of the Gila below Sacate.[32] When the Halchidhoma came from Mexico, they established themselves below the Maricopa at Sacate, i.e., nearer Pima Butte. The Kohuana-Halyikwamai, on coming from the Colorado, settled about the sandhills on the north side two miles southeast of St. John's Mission in the direction of Gila Crossing. This mixed group was still quite large in 1850: it was said that

[Text continues on page 20.]

itary aged Kohuana woman and two Halyikwamai speaking families of young people.

[32] Lumholtz's Papago annals imply that the Maricopa were living in 1850 at Red Rock in the Santa Cruz valley. It is doubtful that this can mean a permanent settlement so far east and in Pima territory (*New Trails in Mexico*, p. 74).

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

gathering mesquite in the vicinity, were on the south side of the river opposite the mouth of Hassayampa Creek. They took their names from three small hills near which they lay (probably Powers Butte, Robbins Butte, and another): kwŭtupa'ra, "the last," was the most westerly; tŭmkuva'tc, "the middle one"; the easternmost had no name. The people using these three sites about the middle of the last century were Kaveltcadom, not Maricopa, according to Last Star, himself of Kaveltcadom descent. 103 361

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE ON MARICOPA AND KAVELTCADOM TERRITORY

It seems to have been taken for granted by many writers on Arizona tribes that within the historic period the Maricopa lived on the lower Gila below the great bend. It is assumed that they are the Cocomaricopa of Spanish record and that they moved eastward to join and become absorbed by the Pima well within our own day. The foregoing record of the native view of the matter is so much at odds with this that it is necessary to examine here the early documentary evidence. 114 174

The anthropological question involved is whether Piman contacts and Pima ingredients of Maricopa culture are ancient or recent. An answer will mean much for our conception of the rapidity of cultural assimilation.

The view that the Maricopa have moved from the lower Gila seems to be wholly mistaken. This inference seems to have arisen because (1) the Spanish explorers of the eighteenth century found Cocomaricopa and Opa at Gila Bend and below; (2) they met no inhabitants in nineteenth century Maricopa territory between Gila Crossing and Pima Butte; (3) the existence of the Kaveltcadom in the very territory assigned the Cocomaricopa was hitherto unknown; (4) Emory (1846) and Bartlett (1852), who found the Maricopa in the Gila Crossing-Pima Butte district, asserted that the Maricopa had moved from the lower Gila.

Are the Maricopa to be identified with the Cocomaricopa of the lower Gila? If not, where were they during the eighteenth century?

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174 The argument of these questions will take the following form. I will try to show that the identification is uncertain; that the Spanish Cocomaricopa-Opa jointly are the Kaveltcadom, or at best Kaveltcadom and Maricopa collectively. It appears to me that the Spaniards did not know how to apply these two names; did not know whether they were alternative terms for the people at Gila Bend or referred to two tribes. It would seem that finally they decided arbitrarily on the latter alternative. It is true that they found no one living in the Gila Crossing–Pima Butte region. They did find natives in the northern part of the great bend of the Gila (the Hassayampa district) and near the mouth of the Salt River. Since this is above the territory of the Kaveltcadom as described by my informants, it may be that these natives were Maricopa. This then might mean that about 1775 the Maricopa were living from the Salt-Gila confluence down to Gila Bend and that about the beginning of the nineteenth century they moved eastward to Gila Crossing–Pima Butte. This is a shift of only thirty or forty miles; not at all the supposed major dislocation from a lower Gila home.

The matter cannot be wholly resolved. We must reckon with the unanimous opinion of the Maricopa that they have always lived in the general vicinity of Gila Crossing–Pima Butte. Since their memories are demonstrably correct on events back to 1825–30, there is no reason why they should not be aware of a shift of location fifty years earlier or less. The region of the Salt-Gila confluence and downstream to Hassayampa is declared to have been Maricopa hunting grounds in the first half of the nineteenth century. It may well be that, when stating that they have always lived in their present location, a shift from the lower part of their territory was ignored as of no consequence.

[114] The statements of Emory and Bartlett, that the Maricopa moved from the lower Gila, are demonstrably confused references to the eastward movement of the Colorado tribes (Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai) in 1825–30 and 1838–39.

The minor eastward shift of the Maricopa suggested here has, of course, no direct bearing on the inference that at some time in the indefinite past they were living on the lower Colorado (p. 11).

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This is based solely on their close linguistic affinity to Yuma, Halchidhoma, and Mohave.

Our first question then concerns the identification of the Maricopa and Kaveltcadom with the Cocomaricopa and Opa of the Spanish records. Fortunately we have illuminating sets of data at intervals covering three centuries: Kino and Manje in 1694–1700, Anza, Garcés, Font, and Diaz in 1774–75, and Bartlett in 1852. It seems advisable to present this documentary evidence in some detail.[43]

In Kino's day (1694–1700) the occupation of this region was somewhat different from that described by native testimony as of 1850. Northern Sonora and the interior south of the Gila River were occupied by Pima. The modern division into Papago and Pima was not recognized, but the Pima of the San Pedro and Santa Cruz Rivers were set off from those to the south as Sobaipuris or Pimas Sobaipuris. They occupied the San Pedro from roughly the vicinity of the present Tombstone northward to the Gila, and the Santa Cruz valley from Tucson to about Red Rock.[44] But most significantly for our present purpose, the middle Gila from Casa Grande to Gila Crossing, in its western part the traditional home of the Maricopa, seems to have contained Sobaipuris Pima villages alone. The Cocomaricopas and Opas, who were by inference from Kino's memoir linked tribes, were placed on the Gila from Gila Bend westward to the Mohawk Mountains. This is precisely the territory assigned by my native informants to the Kaveltcadom and to them alone. The inference from Kino's record alone would be that since the opening of the eighteenth century the Maricopa shifted from below and about Gila Bend to the district above, settling with the Pima in the direction of Casa Grande, leaving the Kaveltcadom behind or being replaced by them.

The details are worth pursuing. It must be borne in mind that while Kino traversed the Gila from Casa Grande downstream several times, he is nowhere explicit as to tribal occupation. Fur-

[43] These are by no means all the records from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but are by far the most complete and significant.

[44] Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, 170, n. 193, 173.

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Halchidhoma
Halyikwamai
Kohuana

The testimony is that the lower Gila was occupied until at least 1828, but there is nothing to show with certainty that its inhabitants were Maricopa rather than Kaveltcadom or some other Yuman speaking group. Emory's assertion that the Maricopa moved from the Gulf is pure inference. The evidence of the shells, of course, certifies nothing.

Bartlett also found no settlements on the lower Gila. He was told by a Maricopa that

> "the Cocomaricopas came here not many years before, to escape from the Yumas, with whom they were constantly at war, and by whom they had been greatly reduced in numbers. Their former range was along the valley of the Gila, on the opposite side of the Jornada and toward the Colorado. [The Jornada here referred to is the desert stretch between Gila Bend and Maricopa Wells.] Their present position adjoining the Pimos, was chosen for the benefit of mutual protection. . . . . The Coco-Maricopas took up their abode in the valley immediately adjoining the Pimos about thirty years since [1820–25], from a point lower down the Gila, where they were exposed to the constant attacks of the Yumas and the Apaches, which tribes, in consequence of their greater numbers, had nearly annihilated them. They came hither for protection, and formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Pimos."[46]

These "Coco-Maricopa" must be the Kaveltcadom. Bartlett must have been confusing their abandonment of the lower Gila with traditions of the Halchidhoma flight from the Colorado about 1825. It is of course quite possible that the Kaveltcadom abandoned their settlements at the time of the Halchidhoma hegira, or immediately after, being then exposed to the Yuma attacks, but they were certainly at Gila Bend about 1835 when Halchidhoma visitors were slain there by the Mohave. The final abandonment of Kaveltcadom territory must therefore have occurred after 1835 and before 1846.

Apparently we have here the origin of the current but erroneous notion that the Maricopa have traditional knowledge of their own former position on the Colorado. There is of course solid linguistic evidence connecting them with the Colorado Yumans, but there is no traditional knowledge that the Maricopa themselves migrated thence. The Kaveltcadom, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai have been indiscriminately called Cocomaricopa with their Maricopa hosts, and their movements

[46] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 221, 262.

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Kohuana Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Halchidhoma
Halyikwamai

from the lower Gila and the Colorado assigned to the latter.[61] Bartlett himself asserts no more than that the Maricopa lived on the lower Gila, and places the blame for assigning their earlier habitat to the Colorado on Emory. He quotes the latter's affirmation that the Maricopa moved gradually from the Gulf of California, adding "I cannot learn that they ever were on the Gulf."[62] The former position of the Maricopa on the Colorado must remain an inference.

To summarize, after this long excursion into the documentary evidence, we can assert with some confidence that during the eighteenth century the Maricopa were occupying the Gila from the Salt River junction down toward Gila Bend, with the Kaveltcadom below them from Gila Bend to within twenty miles of the Mohawk Range. There may have been Maricopa settled on the extreme lower course of the Salt and even on the Gila immediately above the junction with the Salt, although this is frankly a supposition. At any rate the region of the junction may well have been their fishing and mesquite gathering territory. Some such use may also have been made of the Gila bottoms eastward to Pima Butte. From Gila Bend downstream the two tribes may have occupied the river bottom jointly. By 1825–30 the Maricopa had shifted their locus upstream thirty or forty miles to the Gila Crossing–Pima Butte district. Here they were joined by the Halchidhoma between 1833 and 1838, with the Kohuana and Halyikwamai following in 1838 and 1839. More or less simultaneously with Maricopa occupation of the middle Gila near the Pima, the latter received increments of their own people from the Santa Cruz valley, abandoned by reason of Apache pressure. In 1835–38 the Kaveltcadom were still at Gila Bend, although they may by that time have left the river below Painted Rock. By 1852 all the Kaveltcadom had joined the Maricopa in the Sacate district.

It was the fact that the existence of the Kaveltcadom was

[61] For example, Curtis (II, 81) states that vague Maricopa, Yuma, and Mohave tradition relates that the Maricopa once lived on the Colorado between the Mohave and Yuma, making their way up the Gila in a series of movements. There is nothing to show that the reference is not to the allied tribes rather than to the Maricopa.

[62] Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, II, 269.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

their children are not placeable. The bastard origin of one woman can never be forgotten, since she belongs to no sib, her Indian father being unknown. I do not know how the matter came to be resolved in the case of several individuals known to be descendants of white men, but they have sib affiliation. On the other hand, all the known members of the Halchidhoma sib kwĭtk,ĭl,ᵃ are derived from a remote Walapai ancestor. They do not know how he came to be called kwĭtk,ĭ'l,ᵃ, but presume that the Walapai must have sibs, which is not the case.[37] They would be distinctly nonplussed if their women married men of a matrilineally organized tribe, such as the Apache or Southeastern Yavapai, but no such marriages have occurred, since these were mortal enemies. There is a recent instance, however; a marriage of a Maricopa girl to a Hopi man, now resident in nearby Phoenix. The girl's family, with whom I discussed the case, looked upon the placing of their two infants as an unsolvable problem.

Lists of sibs (cimu'l) of the several local tribes were obtained from several individuals. They were not always in agreement as to the tribal origin of particular sibs: the most probable ascription appears in the following list (Table IV). There may have been other sibs among the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai before they joined the Maricopa. But it is improbable: since the migration occurred only in the generation preceding that of my older informants, other sibs would have been remembered.

Some of the ascriptions are certain: Halchidhoma, kwĭtk,ĭ'l,ᵃ; Kohuana, cĭnyikwĭ's and xĭlyi'; Halyikwamai, tŏxpa's; Yuma, cŭkȧpa's; Halchidhoma and Kohuana, cĭkȧma'; Kohuana and Halyikwamai, sala'l. It was thought probable that Halchidhoma kwŭcᵃku' and l,ȧmu'c were derived from the Kohuana. There is some doubt that the Halchidhoma originally had the sibs they share with the Maricopa, but the probability is high. Maricopa mavĭ's is extinct or may never have existed as a sib. (It is one of the month names.) My informants had never heard of anyone locally with this sib affiliation, but one man knew it as a Yuma sib. Yuma cŭkȧpa's and Pima l,ɛω'c and xipa', given in this list, refer to individuals of immediate Yuma and Pima descent.

Some of the Maricopa and Halchidhoma sib names were the same as the six month names. This, incidentally, makes it more certain that both peoples had the same sibs, as they seem to have

[37] There is a Mohave sib kutkilya with which he may have been affiliated (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 742).